

THE DOROBO OF THE NORTH TINDIRET FOREST.

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(2)

Korot	Single men	Married men	Women	Male children	Female children	Total
Kipkurere	8	8	15	10	10	48
Bandi	23	10	20	10	10	103
Kalpi	28	10	17	0	5	75
	55	44	48	25	24	238

Sources: Huntingford, 1929, 1942, 1951, and unpublished material. There are no other sources for the Kipkurere Dorobo; and except in the case of the Kidog (p. 70 below) there is no material for a description of any other horde; nor are any other population figures available.

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

The North Tindiret Forest lies about five miles from the south-eastern boundary of the Nandi Land Unit, and rises from 7,000 ft. to over 9,000 ft. It consists of two great east-west ridges reaching an altitude of about 8,500 ft. divided by the deeply sunk river Kipkurere, "hollow (river)," the ridges merging some 12 miles from the western edge in the high ground round Timboroa which rises to over 9,000 ft. The region is dense evergreen "high forest," with trees of 100 ft. and over, and thick, impenetrable undergrowth growing to a height of 6 or 8 ft. The average rainfall on a farm two miles from the edge of the forest was 54.09 ins. over a period of nine years. Till within the last 25 years the Dorobo lived in small isolated settlements right inside the forest. Access was given by two parallel tracks across the south-western corner of the forest, and concealed paths branched off from them leading to the settlements. In addition to providing a permanent home, the forest was their wet-weather hunting ground; in dry weather the Dorobo used to hunt far afield over Nandi and the Uasin Gishu Plateau, and down to the Rift Valley. In 1937 they were removed from the forest, and a number of them (of domicile categories A and B) settled round the edge of the forest, along a narrow strip of grassland and bush that forms the upper edge of the farms which occupy the five-mile space between the forest and the Nandi Land Unit. But the intention of the Government had been to transfer the Dorobo to the Nandi Land Unit. This the Dorobo did not agree to, but their re-settlement along the edge of the forest was not officially accepted, and they lived there without legal rights unless they became squatters or casual labourers on the farms they settled on.

MAIN FEATURES OF ECONOMY

Till disturbed by European settlement, the Dorobo had a purely hunting economy, though during the last 30 years they have been taking some interest in the acquisition of cattle and in small-scale cultivation. In their hunting days, their only livestock were bees and dogs.

HUNTING

The year was divided into two seasons, *musinoni*, the dry weather, when they hunted game of all sorts with bow and arrow both in the forest and much farther afield; and *isoti*, the wet weather, when they set traps in the forest. In the past they hunted buffalo and elephant, and lion were killed in the plains; leopard and pig are still hunted. Smaller game hunted and eaten include antelope and monkeys of all kinds: almost any kind of meat was eaten, except that of hyena, jackal, and

[Text continues on P.58--analyst]

other scavengers. Nowadays, all hunting activities are carried on illegally with the risk of being punished if caught by the police.

Weapons are the bow and poisoned arrows carried in a quiver. Knives are used to skin game and to make springs. Spears have never been used. The Dorobo used to have hunting dogs, but in the North Tindiret Forest the breed seems to have died out, though it existed in 1927. They have two kinds of trap: (i) The pit trap, *aguret*, formerly used for buffalo, consisting of a pit 8 ft. long, 3 ft. wide, and 6 ft. deep, with wooden spikes set in the bottom. (ii) The spring or snare, *poronet*, which consists, briefly, of a springy stick bent over, with a noose attached to it connected with a platform: the arrangement is such that when an animal treads on the platform its head enters the noose, and the pressure on the platform releases the springy stick, which flies up, tightening the noose, and holding the animal suspended. Such traps can be made in less than ten minutes. This type is used chiefly to catch antelopes, but leopards have been caught in them. Cross-bar traps with a drop-spear were not used by the Kipkurerek Dorobo.

The only hunting taboo recorded is that the night before he goes out hunting a man must abstain from sexual intercourse. This does not apply to the setting of traps.

As regards land rights, the forest was divided into districts, *horot*, pl. *horosueh*, and in his district each man had an hereditary block of land in which he hunted, set traps, kept his honey-barrels, and collected wild food. Occupation rights were recognized by public opinion, and trespass on a man's forest area, i.e., deliberate entry in order to start hunting without permission or the promise of a piece of meat, might result in the trespasser's death at the hands of the owner, who would then have to pay compensation for homicide. Theft of game from a trap is said never to have occurred, not only because the thief might be killed, but because his belly would swell to a great size and he would die after eating meat stolen from a trap.

BEES

Honey is to the Dorobo what milk is to the Nandi: it is "sacred," and its supply must be protected by the observance of taboos. Fruit and blood must not be eaten on the same day as honey (though meat may be eaten); when a comb is emptied, it must be carefully hidden in the undergrowth; and after eating honey a Dorobo cleans his hands in earth, not (like the Nandi) by wiping them with leaves.

The Dorobo recognize four varieties of bee: *sehemik*, the honey-producing kind; *imeik*, solitary bees which live in trees; *kosomok*, earth bees, which live in the ground; and *kiptulonik*, mason bees, which live in cells made of earth and particles of stone cemented together by their own saliva. The Dorobo divide the honey-bees, *sehemik*, into three kinds: the queen, *kamet ap sehemik*, "the mother of the bees"; the workers, called simply *sehemik*, considered to be males, which make honey by eating the "sap" (*pek*) of flowers and then vomiting it into the empty honey-combs; and the drones, *kapurenik*, considered to be idle females which do nothing useful.

Hives or honey-barrels (*pasanet*) are made either of slats of wood tied together, with circular wooden end-pieces; or of the two halves of a piece of log split longitudinally and tied together. They are set in trees, and when a new hive is put up, the owner calls the bees, in a high-pitched tone, to come and occupy it: "Bees, bees, from all the country, come here now, and pour in honey, pour in honey." Bees are said to recognize their owners by their body-smell, and do not sting them when taking honey. Certainly taking honey does not appear to be a painful or dangerous process to the Dorobo owner. Theft of honey from a barrel is considered very low, and a man might kill a thief, though he would have to pay compensation for homicide.

Honey is an important article in Dorobo economy: it is eaten as food, made into an intoxicant, used for ritual purification, and it forms an article of commerce.

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AGRICULTURE

The Dorobo began to cultivate in a small way about 30 years ago (or even a little earlier) and at first they grew only eleusine. Though their inclinations were to become cattle-owners, conditions were unfavourable to the development of cattle-breeding as a primary activity and they have been forced to make agriculture a serious business; for the methods, implements, and even the seed used in this, they have been indebted to the Nandi. [241] [177] [439]

Land

Those who live in A and B domicile categories (with whom alone we are concerned here) cultivate small plots in the open land which surrounds the forest. They have no rights of tenure, except the temporary ones acquired, according to Kenya law, if they live there as squatters under the Resident Native Labourers Ordinance. Their plots, *imbarat*, pl. *imbarenik*, range in size from one acre divided into four individual holdings, to half an acre divided into four holdings; in other cases, plots of a quarter to one-fifth of an acre worked by one person. All plots are fenced, and sometimes a living-hut is built inside the fenced area; occasionally it was found that elderly Dorobo were allowed by Nandi squatters to have a little piece of their cultivated land to work. [423] [636] [351] [345]

European farmers in the district, with whom the Dorobo land question was discussed, seemed not unwilling to let the Dorobo live unmolested on their land provided they gave no trouble; but the government authorities thought otherwise, and the position of a Dorobo who did not choose to become a squatter in order to live on what he considered his own land was thus precarious. [648]

Cultivation Methods and Crops

Two main crops are grown, eleusine, *paiek*, and maize, *ipandek*. Millet had not been grown by 1940, though they bought it from the Nandi. Sweet potatoes, *ropoonik*, are sometimes grown in very limited quantities. Implements are the heart-shaped hoe and the panga or cutlass, both obtained from the Nandi. They have also small axes, *ndolot*, and knives, *rotust* or *cambolust*. [439]

The growing of crops is regulated by the dry and wet seasons, *muainonik*, from October to March, and *isotat*, from April to September. The land is prepared between January and April, and planted in April or May according to the rain. Cultivation follows the Nandi method, with paring and burning of new land. The seed of eleusine and maize is bought from the Nandi, usually from squatters living nearby. Maize and eleusine are planted together in the same plot, though potatoes are generally grown separately. Eleusine is reaped in the Nandi manner by cutting off the heads; maize is picked by hand. Granaries of Nandi type are sometimes made, but are seldom needed, as the yields are so small that the loft of a hut can generally hold all that is not eaten on the field (as is often the case with maize). Cereals are roughly ground on slabs of granite in the Nandi manner. [291] [251] [343] 252

Food

Food in the old days consisted mainly of meat supplemented by honey, wild vegetables, and grain bought by exchange from the Nandi. The food supply is now based on their own agricultural produce, supplemented by milk when they have any, and by certain other foods when they can be got. Meat is still obtained by trapping, though seldom by hunting; it includes the flesh of antelopes, monkeys, pigs, and leopards. Honey is got, as already described, from honey-barrels. Wild food, collected in the forest, includes fruit of the *momoniak* (*rubus rigidus*), *lemesiyet* (*ximenia americana*), and *sasuriet* (*musa ensata*, wild banana), the sap of the *sasuriet*, and leaves of nettle, *siuol*. [262] [177] [222]

Intoxicating drink is of two kinds: the Dorobo honey-wine, *kiphelinih* or *kumih* *ap lo*, made from honey, and fermented with the long seed-pods of the "sausage" [273]

tree," *rotinnet* (*higelia ethiopica*); and *maiye*, eleusine beer, made, though seldom, in the Nandi way. They also drink a mixture of honey and water called *lohomoh*.

TRADE AND EXCHANGE

The inability of the Dorobo to produce many of the things they need has led to the development of a system of exchange with the Nandi, who till recently were almost the only people with whom they had dealings. Relations between Dorobo and Nandi have been such that, though maintaining their complete independence, the Dorobo have not only obtained goods by trade, but have acquired and assimilated much Nandi culture, including language, clan-names, agriculture, and many material features like dress and ornaments. Their relations are in general friendly, for the Nandi like honey and furs which they get most easily from the Dorobo, and there has been an increasing number of marriages of Dorobo men with Nandi women, as well as of Dorobo women with Nandi men. But neither side takes liberties with the other: the Dorobo fear the physical superiority of the Nandi, and the Nandi fear the close-to-nature life of the Dorobo, as well as a certain mystical force as rain-makers which they attribute to them.

From the Nandi the Dorobo get objects of iron, pottery, beads, tobacco, cattle (see below, p. 61), and the seed of cereals for planting. The Nandi get skins and honey from the Dorobo. There are no special places for trade, but the Dorobo go to the nearest smith or potter or other person who can supply them, and make their bargains. This means a journey into the Nandi Land Unit, but other things can be got from the nearest friendly Nandi. The exchange values in 1930 were:

- 1 axe for 1 bagful of honey;
- 1 bundle of tobacco (about 1 lb.) for 1 bagful of honey;
- 1 arrowhead for 1 gourd full of honey;
- 1a. worth of trade beads for a gourd full of honey;
- 1 knife for a day's weeding in the smith's garden;
- 1 large earthenware pot for 1 large prepared buck skin (usually bush-buck);
- 1 small earthenware pot for 1 small prepared buck skin (usually duiker);
- 2 baskets of seed for planting for 1 new basket.

The bag, *motoket*, is made of skin and measures about 8 ins. by 7 ins.; the gourd is about 10 ins. long; the large pot is about 20 ins. high, the small pot about 10 ins. high; and the basket is about 6 ins. deep and 6 ins. wide.

CATTLE

The Dorobo interest in cattle is probably due to their long contact with the Nandi; but though they desire cattle, they have not the land for them. Yet they have speculated about cattle inheritance, and by 1930 had worked out theoretical rules which they had scarcely had opportunities of testing. When they were evicted from the forest in 1937 they were officially credited with about 2,000 head of cattle; but no census of either people or stock appears to have been made in preparation for this event, and most of these cattle did not belong to real Dorobo. In 1938-9 the numbers of stock which I counted during the compilation of my census were:

	Cattle	Goats	Dogs
Koret of Kipkorom ..	25	18	4
Koret of Sosoioyo ..	54	19	3
Koret of Kelpul ..	11	0	0
	90	34	7

Methods of cattle-management are based on those of the Nandi.

101 possibly these Dorobo had been poor Masai, who, having lost
114 their cattle, had taken to hunting, is probably the correct one.
197 It would appear likely that the Dorobo in question were *Balaŋga*,
though Sir Claud was unable to satisfy himself as to their
true origin.

173 The original *Balaŋga* are stated to have come from the
Kisongo¹ district of the Masai. It may be that this is the case,
as the name Kisongo originally stood for a very large tract of
country—in fact, almost the whole area occupied to-day by the
Masai of Tanganyika Territory. It is certain that there now

177 are *Balaŋga* Dorobo with the Masai throughout the length and
breadth of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve, and it becomes more
[224] difficult daily to find *Balaŋga* who still devote themselves to
hunting. Even those who own little or no stock prefer to live
with their richer brethren or with the Masai. The younger

411 men have never led a bush life. They carry spears² (and,
when appropriate, shields) and do not care to be reminded of
the fact that they were ever other than the Masai.

• 262 Occasionally, when an elephant or other large beast is killed
by the European sportsman, a few old men (Masai, to all out-
ward seeming) will make their appearance unobtrusively,

[231] generally accompanied by donkeys. Having obtained per-
mission, they will proceed to rip and hack away huge quantities
of the flesh with a determination and cheerful abandon seldom
to be met with in the Masai. When the donkeys have been

[492] loaded with as much meat as they can carry, the old gentlemen
will quietly depart, bound, presumably, for a banquet of
Gargantuan proportions. Should one ask, they will admit
186 shyly that they are *Balaŋga*, but will almost always add:
"We are now Masai again."

101 I think there can be no doubt that the Masai and the *Balaŋga*
174 are one and the same. The opinions of the Masai (notoriously
unwilling to admit the equality of others) and the *Balaŋga*
themselves are unanimous on the matter, and I have been
unable to discover any shred of evidence to the contrary. It
would appear reasonable to assume that the *Balaŋga* are the

¹ Cf. Hollis: *Masai Language and Folklore*; pp. 260, 261. The name would
seem to be restricted, nowadays, to an area south-west and west of Arusha.
(Map reference: B 5; Kilimanjaro: E, F, I, K.)

² The spear would not seem to be an indigenous Dorobo weapon.

clans or families,¹ after the manner of the Masai, but there is no difference between their several bearers at the present time. 101
Mósiro and *Médiak* Dorobo live and hunt together all over the southern half of the Masai Reserve to-day. They are fairly numerous² (for Dorobo), and in many cases are almost [161] indistinguishable, outwardly, from the Masai.

There, however, the similarity ends, as these Dorobo (referred 197 to, henceforward, as *Mósiro* collectively) are the first with whom we have had to deal possessing a language of their own. Reference to the comparative lists of numbers and the list of names of common objects given elsewhere will show the wide difference there is between the language spoken by these people and that of the Masai.

According to Lekite, who was the only man in recent years 101 holding even a semblance of authority among these people, the "home" of the *Mósiro* is at Talamai.³ He, in common with many Masai and Dorobo elders, admits that the Dorobo 173 originally came from a country designated vaguely as *Juu*,⁴ but no living *Mósiro* can remember the time when the majority of his people did not live at or near to Talamai.

The *Mósiro* are to be found, occasionally, living with the 648 Masai in the kraals of the latter. They are sometimes (particularly when game and honey are scarce) to be found in small 361 rude kraals of their own, close to the Masai. In these kraals 342 will sometimes be seen a few goats or sheep and almost always 231 fowls.⁵ More often, however, the *Mósiro* live in tiny communities (sometimes a man, his wife and their children alone) 361 in the depths of the bush. There they exist, houseless save for a rude shelter of skins within a primitive thorn stockade, 342 by hunting and gathering roots and honey. When supplies 262 run short they beg from the Masai. When a large animal is shot or dies from natural causes the *Mósiro* in the vicinity seem to become aware of the event in the most uncanny way. They will appear unexpectedly, make their camp, and remain until the carcass has been completely denuded of flesh. The meat 252 is not eaten quite raw, but is subjected to a hasty charring, the

¹ More probably the former.

² Possibly 1000 souls, including the women and children.

³ See note 3, p. 127.

⁴ Above: in this case meaning the north.

⁵ The Masai regard the eating of fowls or eggs as unclean.

252 duration of which is in inverse ratio to its toothsome-ness and the severity of the cook's hunger.

648 The Masai are good to the *Mósiro* and seldom refuse them a share in whatever food is obtainable—be it milk, meat or grain. The *Mósiro* expect this; in fact, many of them seem to look on free rations from the Masai as their right. The reason for this is stated to be that the *Mósiro* helped the Masai on many occasions in the past (particularly during the great rinderpest epidemic in the early 'nineties) by hunting for them when starvation had overcome the ingrained antipathy of the Masai to venison. In addition, before the coming of European rule many elephants were killed by the *Mósiro* at the request of the Masai. Lekite told me of one drive in which he and about [204] thirty *Mósiro* were engaged during which sixteen elephants were killed.

231 When a *Mósiroi* obtained cattle he used, unless restrained by his more prudent friends, to slaughter and eat them in the shortest possible time. Up to quite recently, a beast was valued by the *Mósiroi* only for the amount of meat it was capable of providing, but nowadays a few of them are beginning to herd cattle in a small way and some even live as Masai. It is [183] [177] interesting to note that many of the older generation, particularly the women, profess an aversion to having cattle in the vicinity of their own dwelling- or sleeping-places.

241 A few *Mósiro* till the land, but in a half-hearted way. They are extremely improvident and prefer to risk almost inevitable famine rather than to exert themselves in cultivating grain. They never expect their women to work in such small plantations as they may have. A *Mósiroi* will cheerfully tramp the bush for a week or more, picking up a most precarious existence [202] on tubers and roots, and will consider himself well repaid if he returns with a few pounds of honey. He will be horrified at [461] the idea of putting in one hour's work each day on a mealie patch for the same length of time.

222 In the bush, very little in the way of food comes amiss to the *Mósiroi*. Failing meat, his favourite food is honey, but this 224 is regarded as a delicacy and would be eaten wholesale only [362] under the most exceptional circumstances. If meat and honey are unobtainable, the *Mósiroi* has at his command an extensive

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knowledge of roots, leaves, berries and tubers of all kinds, on many of which he is capable of supporting life. 222
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Various kinds of honey are obtained in large quantities and they command a ready sale among the Masai, who are, for the most part, too indolent to look for honey themselves. The *Mósiro* are greatly assisted by the honey-bird¹ in their search and do not appear to suffer much inconvenience when stung. The honey is generally removed by hand, the despoiler working placidly in a cloud of angry, stinging bees. Occasionally a tree has to be felled, and in some cases the honey may be so inaccessible that fire has to be resorted to for the purpose of driving the bees away. Thick clouds of smoke are readily produced by the use of the *Endulee*² which every *Mósiro* carries in his quiver. 222
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With regard to the dress of the men, the *Mósiro* are seldom to be found wearing skins. I have seen *Mósiro* wearing a single garment of rough bark-cloth, knotted at the shoulder in the manner of the Masai blanket, but as a general rule their dress consists of a ragged strip of "Amerikani" or blanket, weather-worn in the extreme, tied over one shoulder and confined at the waist by the sword-belt. They say that they no longer wear skins because the latter make too much noise in the bush and lessen their chances of approaching close to game. The women wear a skin garment³ of the same kind as that worn by the Masai women. They also wear anklets and armlets of wire, but the heavy iron necklaces and 'surutya' earrings of the Masai women are seldom, if ever, seen. It may 291
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¹ *Cuculus Indicator*: a small drab bird about the size of the thrush. It has a short, but very sharp, bill, a white underside and black-striped wings. Its distinctive twittering is often heard in the bush, particularly in the vicinity of bush paths and other places it knows are likely to be frequented by humans. It flies from tree to tree, keeping up its twittering all the time, and is obviously anxious to be followed. I have followed this bird several times, and although honey was not always found at the end of the trail, it invariably led us to places where bees were or had been some time before. The *Mósiro* always answer the cries of this bird, even when they have no opportunity of following it. There are many legends about the honey-bird, which, I think, is to be met with throughout East Africa. The Swahili call this bird *Sego*; the Masai call it *En-johóroi*; the *Mósiro* name it *Chekeandes*; the Nandi, *Chepheche*. 301

² See the section devoted to Dorobo arms and equipment.

³ *Of-ohesandé* (Masai).

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women and they ours. Now we live with our cattle like the Masai." This account is far from enlightening, and when Serkala states that the *Aramanik* live as Masai, I fancy he is making too sweeping an assertion. Admittedly, the *Aramanik* of Moipo live as Masai, and so do many *Aramanik* in the central areas of Tanganyika Masailand, but I suggest that the Dorobo living at the north end of Lake Eyasi and those on the Serenget' plain (north-west of the Ngorongoro localities), who live a purely bush life, are also *Aramanik*.¹ Lekite was positive in the assertion that all the Dorobo living as such in the northern areas of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve and, furthermore, all the Dorobo in the Kenya Masai Reserve,² are *Aramanik*. I have had no opportunity of testing the accuracy of this statement. However, I do not think it likely that there can be yet another type of Dorobo unknown to those individuals from whose information the present notes have been compiled. If my assumption be correct, I think it may well be that *Aramanik* and *Balaŋga* (the latter possibly under a different name) constitute the bulk of the Dorobo in Kenya, and that the Dorobo inhabitants of the northern areas of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve are almost all *Aramanik*.

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The *Aramanik* at Moipo are not fishermen. They do not eat fish, but they are very partial to the meat and fat of the hippopotamus.³ They do little hunting nowadays and are, both young men and elders, rapidly becoming indistinguishable from the Masai. The *Aramanik* living further north (notably those to the west of the Rift Wall at Sanjan, Salei and Peiáya) live a bush life of hunting and honey-gathering and are not above shooting a Masai ox when the chance presents itself.⁴ They are extremely shy people and I have had little chance of establishing contact with them.

The most remarkable thing about the *Aramanik* is their language. It is guttural in the extreme, and while there would seem to be few of the characteristics of the Masai or *Mósiro*

¹ See p. 131, *loc. cit.* The Dorobo seen by Sir Claud Hollis may, alternatively, have been *Aramanik*.

² About 4000 in number.

³ I have been unable to discover a single individual among the Masai and the Dorobo of all kinds who does not regard the eating of fish as anathema.

⁴ According to unauthenticated statements made by certain Masai.

Hunting.

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The chief occupation and, in fact, till the last few years, the only occupation of the Dorobo, is hunting (*sagas*: Kony, *kip-sagas-ian* = hunter). They say that at the present day they do not hunt as much as they used to. All kinds of animals were the objects of the chase; the buffalo (*kiparorët*; N. *soies*), rhinoceros (*kip-kumit*), leopard (*melilito*, N.), lion (*sombit*; *ägetwindo* N.), giant pig (*tunda*, N.) were among the bigger game hunted. Various kinds of monkeys and antelopes are also sought after, both for their skins and their meat. (See "Food" for a list of the animals eaten by the Dorobo.)

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The weapons used in the chase are the bow (*kuyasäda*, N.) and arrow (*kükick*, N.; *mbunatit*, etc.), and spears (*olmorondoit*). Arrows and spears for hunting are poisoned with a concoction made from the keliot tree (N.).¹ Formerly, before the elephant disappeared from the Tindiret region it was hunted and killed with poisoned spears. Small game, besides being shot, are also caught in traps and snares, of which the Dorobo have two kinds; buffalo are also caught in the first kind: (1) Pits (*nguret*), covered with thin sticks and leaves, with spikes (*kipwisiyinas*) set in the bottom. (2) Snares (*poröret*; N. *mestet*) (Text-fig. 25), which are constructed as follows: a springy stick, A, is stuck in the ground and bent over; to its upper end is fastened a piece of tree-rope, B, which is loosely attached to a hooped stick stuck in the ground, supported by three short upright sticks; a little lower down the bent stick A is fastened a noose made from the ndorokyat tree, which is held in place by a cleft stick stuck in the ground on each side; under the noose is made a little platform of sticks, which is covered with leaves. When this platform is touched, since it is in contact with the stick holding the rope B, it releases the rope, and the stick A flies up, thereby tightening the noose.

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Dogs (*ägökto*, pl. *ägökik*) are used in hunting, and are the only animals kept by the Dorobo who live in the forest. When in the forest they wear leather collars, to which are attached, under the throat, a small bell. The dogs seem to be of a different breed to the ordinary thin-nosed cur so common in native reserves, and they are kept in better condition. Their excrement round the huts takes the place of cow-dung in the neighbourhood of a Nandi hut, and makes the air unpleasant.

A description of the weapons is given on p. 346 below.

Food.● 262
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The staple foods of the Dorobo are honey (*kumiat*, N.) and meat (*panget*, N.). For meat they kill the following animals:—

Antelopea.

Kipkeseket (N. *kimerenget*).—Blue duiker (*Cephalophus aquatorialis*).
Mindet (N.).—Red duiker (*C. igno-issaci*).

¹ *Acacia-kera* Schimper.

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136Keremait (N. *poinet*).—Bush-buck (*Tragelaphus scriptus*).Irakutot (N. *irakutot*).—Reed-buck.

Kenyelet (N.).—Oribi.

Kipsomeret (N.).—Water-buck (*Cobus ellipsiprymnus*).

Monkeys.

Sairet (N. *korotitot*).—Colobus (*Colobus guereza*).Tisiet (N.).—(*Cercopithecus albicularis*).Chereret (N.).—(*Cercopithecus griseo-viridis*).Konokehot (N. *moset*).—Baboon.

Other Game.

Torast (N.).—Wild pig (*Phacochoerus aethiopicus*).

Tumda (N.).—Giant pig.

Melito (N.).—Leopard.

Sombit (N. *Agafundo*).—Lion.

Soiet (N.).—Buffalo.

Péliot (N.).—Elephant.

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Of other kinds of food, they eat bananas (*sauriet* (N.)), fruit (e.g. berries, such as those of the momonyat (N.) plant, *Rubus rigidus*), nettles (*siet* (N.)), *Girardinia condensata*), and other wild products.

They make honey-barrels (*pasenat*, pl. *pasanik*; N. *moingot*) (Text-fig. 24), in which the bees swarm. The barrels are made either of rough slats of the tenetwet (N. *tendwet*) tree, or of wide strips of thick bark. The ends of the barrels are made of circular blocks of wood, which keep the slats in place, the slats being bound outside with tree-rope. A hole large enough to admit the hand is left in the middle of the barrel and stuffed with a bunch of leaves. The barrel is placed on forked branches, the hole being in the under side. If the tree is a tall one, a pole is bound to it with tree-rope, by which the owner climbs to the barrel.

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To take honey, the Dorobo first makes fire in a loose ball of sasyat (fibre); he puts this under his garment, and taking some leaves of the kipsopuet (N.) tree¹ in which to wrap the honey, climbs up to the barrel. The sasyat is blown till it makes a good smoke, and the bunch of leaves having been removed from the barrel, the smoking sasyat is held to the hole in the barrel. Having waited a little, the Dorobo inserts his hand and removes the honey-comb (*kipiriritet*) from the barrel, which he wraps in the kipsopuet leaves. Closing the hole, he descends, not worrying about any bee-stings he may receive.

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In times of plenty, food is eaten in the morning, at midday, and in the evening. If there is no food, the people go hungry and wait till some is produced. The women

¹ This sp.

the Kémedillo-Képekyéndi Dorobo (Obiak) of Kenya Colony.

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prepare food and wait upon the men, themselves eating when the men have finished. At the present day the Dorobo are taking to eating eleusine grain, which is crushed on grindstones (*litto*, N.) and made into a sort of porridge; and milk, which they obtain from Nandi, if there are any near them. Beer is made from honey, and is called *kipekisiik* (N.). Tobacco (*tummet*, N.; or *chepechutit*,¹ N.) is brought from the Nandi, and is taken by men, and occasionally by women. It is either chewed (*mit*, N.) or smoked in Kavirondo pipes (*terchik-up-tummet*, or *kumet*, N.), which are also obtained from the Nandi. The men carry tobacco in cylindrical boxes called *kipekusiit* (N. *kipekus*) (Text-fig. 23), made from *sceniyat* (bamboo), with skin coverings for the ends, to which are attached thin leather thongs, by which the box is slung round the neck.²

Agriculture and Stock.

Formerly the Dorobo possessed no stock, nor did they till the ground. During the last quarter of a century or so a few of those living on the edge of the forest have taken to cultivating small plantations (*imborot*, N.), in which they grow eleusine grain (*olbaiekt*, or *paiek*; N. *pák*) only. A few possess, at the present day, one or two cows; others have a few goats and sheep; no one has more than 5 to 10 head. The only animals they possess in numbers are dogs.

Dress and Ornaments.

(i) *Males*.—Boys wear skins of antelopes and monkeys (*akuriat*; N. *inguriat*). Warriors wear skin garments of duiker (*ngemwugo*,³ N.) called *akuriat*; they wear leg-bells attached to a leather band (*mpitiko*,⁴ pl. *mpitikofisiak*) on the ankles. Nowadays some wear pieces of cotton-cloth (*angot*, N.) dyed brown.⁵ Old men wear bush-buck skins (*akuriat*) with the fur left on. Caps (*ngavuit*) are worn, of blue duiker skin with the fur left on, by old men, and of cotton-cloth by warriors. Belts (*entorrit*) of leather are worn by old men, and of beads by boys and warriors. Necklaces of chains (*sirimdo*, N.) or iron-wire (*asingait*, N.) are worn; also various kinds of iron ear-rings (*olaimeriak*) and *kimeitaiit* (Text-figs. 13-17); N. *kimeititiot*) are worn by warriors and elders.

(ii) *Females*.—The dress of the women and girls is very similar to that of Nandi women. They wear skirts (*chepeuiyuit*; N. *chepeuiit*) and upper garments (*kuliket*, N.), both of tanned leather, with the fur removed, in the same manner as the Nandi women. Their ornaments consist of iron-wire armlets and leglets (*makirotēnik* and *kariik*, N.), and wire necklaces (*asingait*, pl. *asingaitiik*, N.). Married women wear

¹ *Chepechutit* means "snuff" in Nandi.² These are similar to the Nandi tobacco-boxes, from which indeed they are probably borrowed.³ As do the Nandi, from whom doubtless the custom spread to the Dorobo.

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11. Kongot, the only true Dorobo clan-name left, and apparently corresponding to Nandi Kipkoning; totem, *kipsakeriet*?

The clan-animals are: *kongonyot*, crested crane, called the same in Nandi; *soiet*, buffalo, called *soet* in Nandi; *kipsakamiet*, a small red bird, called the same in Nandi; *kankiet*, baboon, called *moet* in Nandi; *sonweyo*, duiker, Elgon Nandi *sonweyo*, Nandi *septieriet*; *torat*, bush pig, Elgon Nandi *torat*, Nandi *torat*; *repta*, rain, called the same in Nandi; *kisurokat*, hyena, called *kisurokat* in Nandi; *sonbit*, lion, called *astande* in Nandi; *oswerriet*, partridge, called *soiyet* in Nandi; *asata*, the sun, called the same in Nandi; and *kipsakeriet*, snake, called *eruat* in Nandi.

The clan is referred to simply as *oet* and *not*, as among the Nandi, by the phrase *tioed op oet*; and when asking a man his clan the expression is *Ne oruman?* "what is your *oet*?" whereas in Nandi the question is nearly always put in the form *Ng tioed op oruman?* "what is the animal of your *oet*?" Clanfellows are considered as *tilienutik*, relatives; marriage within the clan therefore is not allowed, with one apparent exception which will be explained later. Clanmen are addressed commonly as *Oranyon*, or else as *Ar t opa*, the latter meaning "father's brother's son", and emphasizing the theoretical relationship between clanfellows.

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There seems to be no sort of restriction on the killing or eating of the clan animal, for as the Dorobo say, *Cito makione bitie, kiome tioetk tukul* ("It is only man that we do not eat, we eat all (other) animals"), and there is not even the half-hearted apology such as that made by a Nandi when he kills his totem by mistake or intention. This negative attitude to the clan animal suggests that the Dorobo clans were originally non-totemic, and that they borrowed the totem idea along with the clan-names and other cultural features.

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Marriage within the clan is forbidden, except in the case of *Moi*. This exception was explained by three senior elders in the following terms: *Cii nepo Moi kiituni cepto nepo Moi ingo po hot ake ne mweyo horat ake a makoni tiliet; ngat kiitun nepo tioed ake, mapile* ("A man of *Moi* may marry a girl of *Moi* if they are of a different house, live in a different parish, and are not related, provided their clan animals are different"). This is because the *Moi* clan has three totems, so that

- one whose totem is *Kongonyot* may marry one with *Soiet* or *Kipsakamiet*;
- one whose totem is *Soiet* may marry one with *Kongonyot* or *Kipsakamiet*;
- one whose totem is *Kipsakamiet* may marry one with *Soiet* or *Kongonyot*.

The rule of exogamy can therefore be preserved by calling the clan by its animal-name, though ordinarily emphasis is on the clan as a group, and not on its animal. This may be due to Nandi influence, among whom *Moi-Moi* marriages are common when the parties have different animals. But though permitted by the Dorobo, I found only one actual instance of such a marriage, where a *Kongonyot* man married a *Soiet* girl.

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There appear to be no restrictions on marriage between clans such as occur among the Nandi. Korapor, for instance, may marry *Kapokoi*, though in Nandi such a marriage is forbidden.

a clear, windless sky. About 10 o'clock a curious whistling noise began to come from a certain part of the forest, and continued, on the same note, and without a break, for several hours. It was certainly no human or machine-made noise, and the Dorobo professed complete ignorance of it. A Nandi who had lived there before the Nandi War told me afterwards that it was an evil spirit whistling in the forest, "for we used to hear them whistling to each other like that in the forest when I was a child".

Between people and the things on which they depend for their existence both spiritual and material there is a connexion which is best expressed in terms of a ritual relationship. Things have a ritual value for people, and people themselves have a ritual status which is a relationship with their surroundings that can be altered for better or for worse according to the way in which they respect the ritual value of the things around them. Religion and magic form the procedure which protects these ritual values and status, while political organization is, in a sense, no more than an effort to maintain the ritual status of the horde in spite of the tendency of its members to injure their own ritual status and in consequence that of the horde also.

Certain things that a person does, whether voluntarily or involuntarily, cause deterioration of ritual status; but the original status may be recovered by the performance of certain ritual actions which may involve some personal effort or sacrifice. Examples of acts which cause loss of ritual status, and the means taken to restore it, are: (1) A girl who bears a child before marriage must have the undigested grass (*siyat*) from the stomach of a goat rubbed over her face, neck, and breasts, and must then wash it off. (2) After a woman has given birth, she is in a condition of much reduced ritual status, and her husband must rub goat's fat and *siyat* over her face, breasts, and belly. (3) A man who has killed a Dorobo must have goat's fat rubbed all over him. (4) One who has killed an enemy must have stripes of white earth painted on his face. In all these cases the people have done something which causes loss of ritual status, making them ritually unclean (*swas* or *swais*) and so a source of danger to others till they have been purified. The potential danger is removed by means of something which has a ritual value. Moreover, an essential element in the cleansing process is sacrifice, that is, the use of the material must either involve giving up something which is valued, or it must require some effort or even risk to get hold of. The *siyat* or fat must be from a domestic animal: if the person concerned has one, he must use it; if he has none, then he must get one, and without delay, which for a Dorobo usually meant that he had to steal it, and thus risk getting killed while doing so. Therefore there is an act of faith in these magic-religious performances, and people believe so firmly in the efficacy of what they do that they are prepared to risk danger in order to get the necessary materials. The use of white earth may entail no more than a journey to get it, but that still means a personal effort on somebody's part. Materials which are used for the restoration of ritual status, and in consequence have a special ritual value, include: the flesh of goats, which is eaten when twins are born, and in cases of incest; *siyat*, the undigested grass from the stomach of a ruminant (a sheep

A comet is a sign of coming famine, not merely for the person who sees it, but for everybody. [787] [821]

This short statement may not seem to imply a very great use of magical practices. Nevertheless it is clear from the general trend of knowledge of the Dorobo that the important parts of their life are helped and controlled by magic. The recovery of ritual status after child-birth and after the birth of twins is achieved by magical means; the spirit-name given to a child is intended to link it, in a way that can quite properly be called magical, with the spirit-world, so that it starts life on good terms with those powerful and capricious beings; the whole idea of circumcision (even if it is borrowed) is that of the transition by means of a magico-religious performance from the state of boyhood to that of manhood; these and other observances and avoidances are all magic, and are done because people believe that by doing them they will be enabled to go on existing. [789] [791]

b) Analysis of Rituals

Ritual Values. Things which have ritual value fall into three categories: (1) things which provide sustenance, or are closely connected with such things; (2) things of the spirit world; (3) things used to restore ritual status: [771] [778]

(1) Honey is sacred, like milk to the Nandi; and in addition to the taboo on eating honey and fruit on the same day, trees, flowering plants, and grass have ritual value because they are all closely connected with the provision of honey: trees, because bees live in them; flowers, because bees get honey from them; and grass, because the flowers and trees may be damaged if it is burned. The last notion means that unlike the pastoral tribes, the Dorobo do not burn grass near forest. [862] [824]

(2) The spirits are offered honey and honey-wine, which thereby acquire an additional value in that their use is directed to both the dead and the living. [776]

(3) Things used for the recovery of damaged ritual status include goats and sheep, and certain of their products, i. e. *eiya*, and fat, as well as 'butter' or *wuail ap tangina* from cows. All these come from sources which formerly were hardly possessed at all by most Dorobo, and even to-day only on a small scale. Honey-wine is used a good deal, as well as white earth. [782]

Each period of life has what might be called a standard ritual status, which is changed to a different standard on circumcision, when a boy becomes a man and a girl a woman, with the right to marry and produce children. The ritual status of normal adults is altered under certain conditions: (1) a man setting out to hunt is not in the same ritual state as when he is staying quietly at home, and he must not have sexual intercourse at such a time, i. e. just before he starts or, should he have an opportunity, while away; [781] [834]
(2) a person sick of an illness has a status different from that of other people;
(3) touching a corpse causes deterioration of ritual status; (4) the breaking of a taboo affects ritual status; (5) women suffer deterioration of ritual status through the birth of a child before marriage, the birth of twins, and even, to a lesser extent, normal birth. In all cases, the status must be restored by a ritual performance.

The economic unit is the family, of whatever kind, elementary or domestic, living alone or within a group. The unit formed of a man, his wife, and their children can actually provide itself, under normal conditions, with most of its necessary subsistence, with a certain amount of help from those to whom they are entitled to turn for it. The first necessity is of course food. This is of two kinds, meat and vegetable, and the second sort is now both wild and cultivated, though formerly the Dorobo ate but little in the way of cereals; restrictions on hunting have now forced them to do so. In the old days meat and honey were the principal foods, vegetables being eaten as a relish. The foods now eaten may be classed under the following heads in order of traditional importance:

1. Meat: got by hunting and trapping.
2. Honey: from their honey-barrels.
3. Wild plants: collected.
4. Salt: made or bought.
5. Drink: made from honey.
6. Cereals: eleusine and maize, grown; maize, bought.
7. Milk: for those who have cows.

Almost any kind of meat, except that of scavengers like jackal, hyaena, mongoose, etc., was and still is eaten, including antelopes, monkeys, and bigger game. Of antelopes they eat the following:

- Ngemuruyot**, the common duiker (*Cephalophus Grimmii*).
Kipsakeset, the blue duiker (*C. aequatorialis*).
Mindet, the red duiker (*C. igna-issaci*).
Keremaiti, the bushbuck (*Tragelaphus scriptus*).
Irukulet, the reedbuck (*Cervicapra arundinum*).
Kenyelet, the oribi (*Ourebia montana*).
Kipsomeret, the waterbuck (*Cobus ellipsiprymnus*).

Of monkeys they eat:

- Sairat*, the colobus (*Colobus guereza*).
Tisid, Sykes' monkey (*Cercopithecus albogularia*).
Cereret, grey monkey (*C. griseo-viridia*).
Konoket, the baboon (*Papio cynocephalus*).

And of other animals they eat:

- Torast*, the wild pig or wart-hog (*Phacochoerus aethiopicus*).
Tumla, the giant pig (*Hylochoerus Meinertzhageni*).
Melillo, the leopard.
Sombil, the lion.
Soiat, the buffalo.
Peliot, the elephant.

There are, however, no elephant in the Dorobo country to-day, nor have there been within living Dorobo memory; but buffalo still occur in the

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[136] eastern part of the area and towards Londiani. Monkeys and pigs are found both in and outside the forest; leopards live on the edge, and lions are still occasionally met with in the open country near the forest. Antelopes are still found, but they are not so plentiful as they used to be.

Honey is produced in honey-barrels. This constitutes a special department of Dorobo life, and will be described in §2 below.

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[462] Wild vegetable foods which grow in and round the forest are eaten both cooked and raw as relishes or additions to the staple diet of meat and cereals; the task of collecting vegetable food is usually performed by the women. Recorded wild foods eaten are:

Fruit of the *sitotik*, which are something like white currants, dried in the sun and eaten raw.

Fruit of the plant *momonyat*, *rubus rigidus*.

Fruit of the *lemeiyet*, *ximenia americana*.

Fruit of the *sasuriet*, *Musa ensete*, the wild banana.

Leaves of the *sinot*, *girardinia condensata*, nettle.

Sap of the wild banana, eaten in place of what the Nandi call *kimiet* or 'porridge'.

222 Banana sap is collected by sticking a flat piece of wood into an incision made in the stem of the tree; a receptacle is hung on the end of the wood and left there for the sap to drip into it. The fruit of the wild banana (a very poor substitute for the cultivated kind) is placed on the drying tray (*sainet*) over the fire till it is roasted by the heat, and is then broken up with two stones and chewed; it is very hard. Tobacco is bought from the Nandi.

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[258] Before trade salt was obtainable through the Nandi, the Dorobo made a substitute from the leaves of the *tepenguet* bush (*aemilia integrifolia*), or of the *serenguet* tree. Leaves were burned, and the ashes collected in a suitable receptacle, a little water was poured on them and mixed, and the resulting liquid was added to food as needed. Some of the Bantu Kavirondo used to make a similar substitute for salt.

[71]
273 Intoxicating drink is chiefly made of honey, though now a little eleusine beer is made in the Nandi manner. The Dorobo method of making *kipeketinik* or *kumik ap lo*, "honey-wine", is as follows. As a fermenting agent, the seed-pods of the *rotinnet* tree (*kigelia aethiopica* or the sausage tree), which may be as much as a foot long and four inches thick, are boiled till quite soft when they are cut into strips and put into the honey to make it ferment. A Dorobo description of the process of making the drink is this:

[824]

<i>Kenam</i>	<i>rutik,</i>	<i>hepele</i>	<i>mat</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>kokerer;</i>
They are taken the seed-pods, they are-boiled-on the-fire that they-may-be-split:					
<i>hinne</i>	<i>iloslo</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>hipete</i>	<i>tukuk</i>	<i>ce</i> <i>somisec</i> <i>kui</i>
they-are-washed-in the-river that they-may-be-lost the-things which-are dirty till					
<i>hapumbunit.</i>	<i>Kema</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>heyomio.</i>	<i>Kiinde</i>	<i>teret</i>
they-become-soft. They-are-put-in-the-sun that they-may-dry. They-are-put-into-the-pot					
<i>ole</i>	<i>mii</i>	<i>kumiat</i>	<i>puc,</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>konnanit,</i> <i>hiinde</i> <i>oigaret</i>
where there-is the-honey only, that it-may-become-bitter, there-is-put the-water					

hopotok. Kiinde tapot hut korurio. Peni-s ehosiak ce can si korurio 273
as-well. It-is-put-in the-loft till it-ripens. It-remains the-days many that it-may-

hut hoish maiyeh. Kii.
ripens till it-becomes the-drink. (Then) we-drink.

(Some seed-pods are boiled so that they can be split; they are washed in the river to remove any dirt sticking to them, and then when they have become quite soft, they are put in the sun to dry. The dried strips are next put into a pot containing honey and nothing else, to make it bitter, i. e. to ferment it, and some water is added. The mixture is put in the loft to ferment. It is left for several days till it is ready and can be drunk. Then we drink it.) Another drink called *lokomek*, or honey-and-water, is also a favourite of the Dorobo; it is not intoxicating and is much simpler to prepare than honey-wine, being simply honey and water mixed together, without the addition of seed-pods, and drunk the same day without any fermentation. 272

In the old days, the Dorobo say, they were seldom absolutely without food, for meat could generally be got with either bow or trap, and unless a man was ill or away, when someone would help his family with food, he could usually get enough to feed them. This is probably true, for in those days game was plentiful enough, and there were no Europeans to restrict their hunting activities. Nowadays, when hunting is curtailed, and reduced to little more than trapping, there is an uncertainty about the food supply which even the introduction of agriculture and the nearness of European farms does not altogether remove. A man may be just unlucky with his trapping: European influence, as "harmful magic", is blamed for this; and his crop may be a small one, or much damaged by vermin. And although one member of a family may even be a wage-earner on a neighbouring farm and get a daily ration of 2 lbs. of maize meal when he works, he has to feed not only himself but his own family and perhaps others. For instance, a man of my acquaintance named Arap Keter had to feed his wife, his child, his sister, and his mother, as well as himself. Arap Ruto, one of his neighbours, who also worked on a farm, had at times to feed his brother Arap Minin, his wife, his four children, and his mother. Two pounds of meal a day do not go far to eke out a small crop and the produce of the traps and honey-barrels when divided among eight people in a bad season. Shortages are remedied as far as possible by the principle of sharing, and a man who has food left over after feeding his own family must, and does, help to feed certain others if need be. Arap Ruto, as we have just seen, has had to feed seven people besides himself at times; but in the past the normal rule of food distribution was that a man provided meat for his wife and children, for his parents, and sometimes his wife's parents, since the old people, as always, depend on what their sons and sons-in-law can give them. A successful hunter also shared his kill with those who went with him and were unlucky. The distribution of meat was thus as follows: 262 224 177

- | | | |
|--------|---|--------------------|
| Hunter | { | 1. Own family. |
| | | 2. Own parents. |
| | | 3. Wife's parents. |
| | | 4. Fellow hunters. |

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433 the absence of pastoral and agricultural techniques and vocabulary, by their myths, and in fact by everything about them. To-day it is true that they are becoming agriculturalists, as the following analysis of their economic activities will show:

	Past :	→	Past :	→	Ideal :
					(to most cases)
Family	Men :	Trapping game in the forest		Cultivation of shambas	
		Making weapons, honey-barrels, etc.			
		Some : working for wages			
	Women :	Preparing the results of trapping			
		Making baskets, skin clothes, etc.		Cultivation of shambas	Stock
		Housework and food collecting			
	Children :	Wooding			
		Herding			
		Housework			
	Men Living Alone :	Trapping		Cultivation of shambas	Stock
		Making things			
		Preparing the results of trapping			
		Cooking, housework			

[556] Dorobo life therefore converges on cultivation, with a hunting background, and stock in view as the ultimate achievement. For though the hunting instinct is still very much alive, and though a great deal of time is now spent on cultivation, there is no doubt that the Dorobo (in 1939 at least) had a livestock economy in their minds as the ultimate goal.

2. Economic Activities

a) Bee-keeping

- 262 Honey is to the Dorobo what milk is to the Nandi. It is semi-sacred and has a high ritual value, in consequence of which certain rules must be observed lest the supply fail. A person must not eat fruit or blood on the same day that he has eaten honey, though he or she may eat meat. After eating honey, bits of the comb must not be left lying on the ground, but must be hidden in the undergrowth. Arap Minie said, somewhat unconvincingly, that the reason for this was "that other people shall not see them and so be led to your honey-barrel". But this is probably not the true reason, which may be either simply respect to the honey, from a fear that if treated disrespectfully the supply will fail ; or else fear of a witch putting a spell on the bees or honey

through the piece of comb. After eating honey a Dorobo wipes his hands in the earth to clean them; whereas a Nandi uses leaves.

One of the accusations often made against the Dorobo as forest dwellers is that by burning grass and firing trees when taking honey they cause forest fires. Apart from the fact that there is no evidence to support this allegation, for the Dorobo do not burn trees, a very good reason why they do not destroy them was given by a Dorobo who said, with reference to some people in his settlement,

Kopel lakoh ap Kapholelac susuch ap timdannyon. Mahicome
They burn the children of Kholelac-family the grass of forest-our. We-do-not-like (it)
amu mopelo Ohich timdo no tinye lukuk co kiome,
for they-do-not-burn the Dorobo the-forest which it-contains the-things which we-eat,
ngut ne mii pasanel ap sehemik:ngut hololo taplet ne
also where there-is the-honey-barrel of the-bees; also it-is-burned the-flower which
ome sehemik.
they-eat the-bees.

(The children of the Kholelac family are in the habit of burning the grass beside our forest. We disapprove of this, for the Dorobo do not burn the forest which contains the things they eat, and where they keep their honey-barrels; moreover, grass-burning destroys the flowers from which the bees get their honey.) The Dorobo in fact love their trees, and with these very practical reasons for not destroying them, it is absurd to accuse them of what amounts to an anti-social practice among themselves. Nor did the forest itself either in 1927 or in 1939 show signs of the alleged wanton destruction by fire attributed by some to the Dorobo.

Although wild honey is to be found in hollow trees and holes in rocks, the Dorobo do not rely on such chance finds for their supply, though they will eat it if necessary. They rely on the honey which they get from their own honey-barrels.

They recognize four varieties of bee:

Sehemik, social bees, *Apis mellifera*, the honey-producing bees which live in hollow trees and honey-barrels.

Imeik, solitary bees, *Osmia*, which live in trees and hollow stems of shrubs and make honey.

Kosomok, earth bees, *Halictus*, slightly larger bees which live in holes in the ground and make honey.

Kiptulonik, mason bees, *Chalicodoma*, which live in cells made of a sort of cement formed of earth, minute stones, and their own saliva. These are very small bees, which make only a small amount of honey, and are not found in the forest, but in Soim below the escarpment.

The Nandi word *kulumbenik* meaning another variety of bee, is used by the Dorobo, not of bees, but of small stinging insects like mosquitoes.

The bees that provide the Dorobo with their honey are the *sehemik*, of which there are, they say, three kinds: the queen, the workers, and the drones. The queen, *kamel ap sehemik* or "the mother of the bees", is

the bow. Quivers are made of ox-hide. Arrow-poison is made from the bush ¹¹¹ called *Keliot* (*acocanthera Schimperii*), the use of which the Nandi say was ^[824] discovered by the Dorobo ¹⁰. It is made in this way: leaves and branches are broken off and boiled in a pot for several hours. The resulting liquid is strained ²⁷⁸ and boiled again till it becomes thick and tar-like. When cool it is placed on a sheet of bark, covered with another piece of bark and put in a tree out of the reach of children, together with the pot in which it was boiled. After making poison a man must purify himself by bathing in a river. *Keliot* poison acts very quickly, but does not make the whole of the animal killed by it ^[262] unfit to eat. The flesh round the site of entry is cut away and destroyed, and the rest is eaten with safety.

The Dorobo used to have hunting dogs (*sokto*, pl. *sokih*) which at one ²⁹¹ time were the only animals they kept. They still have dogs, but the hunting breed which I saw in the Kelpui-Kipkorom area in 1927, seems to have died out, for though I saw a few dogs there in 1939, they were nothing more than the ordinary native type, the thin-nosed cur so common in Native Reserves and on farms wherever Africans are found. The original breed, as I saw it in 1927, had, it is true, a tightly curled tail, but was a much better looking animal, of a different shape, and much fiercer, resembling the so-called 'basenji' dog of the Belgian Congo ¹⁷ more than anything else, especially in its prick ears, tail, and carriage, though it could bark. When in the forest, the Dorobo put leather collars on their dogs, with a small bell under the throat so that they could tell where the animals were when they put up game. It was noticeable both in 1927 and 1939 that the Dorobo treated their dogs better than Africans usually do — they paid more attention to them, played with them, and fondled them.

The traps used by the Kipkurerek are of two kinds: the pit-trap, and ²²⁴ the springe. The pit-trap, *ngurel*, is simply an oblong pit about 6 to 8 ft. long, 3 ft. wide, and 6 ft. deep, dug with digging-sticks, and the earth removed in bags or baskets. Wooden spikes, *hipuaiyeinat*, were often set in the bottom, and the whole was covered with thin sticks concealed by a layer of grass and leaves. The trap was dug across a path known to be used by buffalo, the animal it was chiefly intended to catch. This type is no longer used. The springe is the only trap used to-day. It is called *poroset*, and can be made in a very short time by almost any Dorobo. It is used chiefly to catch smaller game like antelope. The materials required to make a springe are wood, liana, and grass, and the only tool used is an axe or *panga* (the long-bladed ^[412] knife or cutlass common in Africa, and now often used by Dorobo). The trap about to be described was made for me on the edge of the forest at Kipkorom by Coimin arap Katam on 9 July 1938. It took him about 12 minutes from start to finish, and did all that was claimed for it; it should be noted that he was somewhat out of practice, and probably took a little longer than a man who was constantly making traps.

¹⁰ Cf. HOLLIS, *The Nandi*. Oxford 1909. p. 108.

¹⁷ Cf. Capt. G. DOLLMAN in *Journ. Roy. African Soc.* 36. 1937. 148.

is to get as much as possible of the crop out of the way so that ploughing can start at once without having to wait till the crop is ripe. But the Dorobo had, all the same, made a step forward, for a solid, compact stook is less likely to be devastated by animals than plants standing scattered over a field. 243
197

By 25 November, 1938 the Kipukua people had reaped their crops. The shamba here was about an acre in extent, and was divided into four approximately equal-sized plots. There was little maize, for some had been eaten on the field and some had been destroyed by vermin; what was left had been stooked, and anything like an accurate estimate was impossible, though there might have been two or perhaps three bags in the stooks. If we estimate that the equivalent of two bags might have been eaten, and two more destroyed by vermin, we have about 6 or 7 bags, a somewhat high estimate for a crop grown mixed with eleusine, but not impossible²². Of eleusine, one plot yielded 3 bags, and another 2 bags (that is 5 bags from half an acre), not a great deal, certainly, but a fair yield under such conditions, and most useful as food, for the Dorobo eat most of their eleusine, and turn very little of it into beer. Maize and eleusine are ground by crushing on slabs of granite (*lileito*), and the resulting meal is made into gruel (*musareh*) for the children, and stiff porridge (*kimiet*) for the older people; it is generally eaten with a mess of vegetable food (*inguck*) prepared separately. 241
493
262
273
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Storage of crops is not yet a very difficult problem. A few of the Dorobo, it is true, have built granaries of Nandi type, hidden just inside the forest to prevent thefts by the Nandi, for anyone can lift up the roof of such a granary in the night. But since so much of the maize is eaten on the field, what is left at harvest time can be stored in the loft; and the same applies to eleusine, for it does not yield a large amount of grain. I saw no millet growing, and the Dorobo said they bought it from the Nandi. 251
[77]
[439]

As we have already noted, agricultural labour is divided to a certain extent between the sexes, but the distinction is not very sharp, and it was found to work out in the following way: 241
462

Men :	Both :	Woman :
Heavy preliminary work	Digging	
Planting	Weeding	Collecting and burning weeds
	Reaping	

The heavy work includes lopping off branches in the Nandi manner, clearing bushes, and breaking up the ground when hard. Women may also plant, but the tendency seems to be for men to do it, though there is no absolute rule against women planting. Children help with the weeding, and herd the goats when there are any; old men herd cattle, and women also sometimes herd goats. 857
231

The Dorobo had not by 1939 acquired the Nandi belief that each eleusine crop requires new land, which in the circumstances is just as well; but they do not hesitate to give up using land which is unproductive. Thus, 241
[77]

²² The bag is the standard 2 1/2 lb. gunny bag used in East Africa, holding 200 lbs. of maize.

24/ beer called *mes* is brewed from *ripp*. Planting is done in a season called *Loukwung*, when there
 [273] are, or should be, light rains. This is well recognized, as are two other seasons or months:
 [132] *Lorara*, a time of rain; and *Loichetto*, a time of much rain.

805 *The Calendar*.—The Wanderobo are very hazy about the calendar, and disagree among themselves about it. The "year" appears to be divided into six months, of which the following lists were compiled from those who pretend to know about them. No two agree, it will be noticed, except 3 and 4, which are probably wrong, for my informants displayed much uncertainty.

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
<i>Lodungu.</i> <i>Lumuku.</i> <i>Lukwa.</i> <i>Lorara.</i> ? ?	<i>Loukwung.</i> <i>Lodungu.</i> <i>Loumuk.</i> <i>Loicheto.</i> <i>Lorara.</i> ?	<i>Lodungu.</i> <i>Loukwung.</i> <i>Loumuk.</i> <i>Loicheto.</i> <i>Lorara.</i>	<i>Lodungu.</i> <i>Loukwung.</i> <i>Loumuk.</i> <i>Loicheto.</i> <i>Lorara.</i>	<i>Loukwung.</i> <i>Lorara.</i> <i>Loicheto.</i> <i>Lodungu.</i> ?

262 *Food*.—In addition to the above-mentioned grain the Wanderobo will eat almost anything they can get their teeth into, but I do not gather that they will eat human flesh. They will devour any kind of antelope or pig, elephant, rhinoceros, etc., also carnivores of all kinds, except the hyena; nor do they eat chicken (the Dodotho say that this is because they—the Wanderobo—do not possess any) or snakes. Honey is greatly prized, and bee-traps are set far and wide in the trees.

462 *Division of Labour*.—A man's work, except during the hunting season, is wood cutting and attendance on the crops, where his main function is that of a scarecrow. During the hunting season all the able-bodied men leave the village in search of game, which they spear and trap. On wet ground they will actually run down a buck. When the hunters are out, work in the fields and village is done by women, children, and old men. The boys help with the crops, and the girls are employed in the village grinding grain and fetching water with the women. The very old people sit about and take little active part in the life of the community.

517 *Recreations*.—The Wanderobo have no musical instruments. They rarely dance, and while the children doubtless play games I gathered no reliable information under this head.

439 *Manufactures*.—The Wanderobo are peculiarly wanting in this respect. They make neither
 [285] baskets nor pottery. The former I did not see among them (the people were found to be using
 [323] gourds as cooking pots). The latter is obtained from the Dodotho in exchange for tobacco.
 [415] Their shields (*kesen*) are similarly obtained, while their spears (*bisa*) come from the Dodinga
 [411] country, just over the border in the Sudan. It is noticeable that they use the short stabbing
 [352] spear. These, it may be noted, are the only tanged spears I saw in Karamoja. They use
 [531] headrests (*nekicholung*) of Dodotho origin; as with all other tribes in this part of the world, they carry their water in gourds, upon which they frequently carve crude designs.

Nos. 17-18.]

MAN.

[1903.]

They are said to be very prolific, having families of eight to ten children, but the infant mortality is so extremely heavy that their numbers increase very slowly; this mortality is probably due to the cold, damp climate of the Man Forests, which are at an altitude ranging from 7,000 to 9,000 feet.

Their peace ceremony consists of cutting off a dog's ears, and the contracting parties then spatter one another with the blood.

They live principally on Colobus and other monkeys, which they shoot in the forest. At certain seasons, however, they go and hunt big game on the plains, known as the Rangata Nyuki; they wait till the grass is dry, and then burn it to facilitate their hunting. They use poisoned arrows for big game, and unpoisoned ones for monkeys, &c. They train dogs to assist in their hunting, and are very keen to get young dogs for the purpose. They told me that they first gave the dog certain medicine, and the animal could then track game.

They are very clever elephant hunters, and informed me that when they came across an elephant they went off and bathed and scrubbed themselves very carefully to remove all trace of the human scent, and that they were then able to approach a sleeping elephant and spear it with a poisoned dart.

They are most expert in the use of a firestick. The fire is produced in the ordinary way by the friction of one stick spun round vertically in a depression in another piece of wood, which is held firm between the bare feet of the operator; the lower piece of wood appeared to be the juniper of Man.

A small vocabulary of their language is appended on the opposite page. They use the Nandi numerals.

The prefix "ki," and the suffixes "et," "it," and "ek," are, I think, brought in from the Nandi language, but most of the roots will be found to be quite distinct. Many of the tribe can only speak Nandi, and when collecting this vocabulary in many cases they appeared to have forgotten the Oggik or Omotik word but gave the Nandi word, and had to consult among themselves and, as it were, hunt up the proper word. The language is thus evidently dropping into such disuse that it will probably become quite extinct in the near future.

C. W. HOBLEY

[39]

Africa, East.

Hobley.

Notes on the Dorobo People and other Tribes; gathered from Chief Karuri and others. By C. W. Hobley, C.M.G.

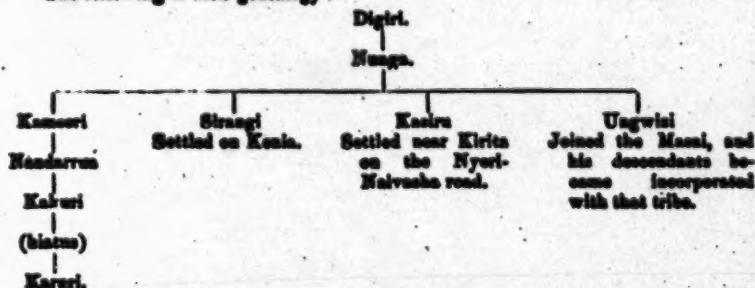
78

The true Dorobo people are called Asi by the Kikuyu people and call themselves Aggiek (or Oggie) or Ogichua.

Mr. Hollis tells me that the Nandi call them Okiek (singular Okiot), the Maasai Il-Toroko (singular Ol-Toroboni).

They inhabited the whole of the East Africa highlands from Nandi to Kenya before the Maasai invaded the country. The most important clan among the Aggiek is the Digiri (see MAX, 1904, 21), the name Digiri being that of their earliest known ancestor. Digiri, however, appears to have lived so long ago that all details about him are lost, and the first ancestor remembered by most is one Nunga, who was a very powerful person, and nearly all the Aggiek are said to trace their origin to this chief.

The following is their genealogy:—



Kamsari, Sirangi, and Kasira are now the names of three clans of the Aggiek.

Before the Maasai came none of the Aggiek circumcised and they all spoke one language. The totem of the Aggiek is the ant-bear, which is called Ungare, they do not eat carnivorous animals or birds of prey, but eat all other animals and birds.

The Digiri have a distinct legend of the invasion of the Maasai: they describe how one day a Digiri hunter on the Emsio Narok saw a great company of people coming from the north; the hunter was afraid and hid among the rocks, but he was seen,

Both the social and the economic ranges of the Dorobo are very narrow. The family is a self-supporting unit, and a group of families forms a social unit; but the group is isolated, and the groups cohere through their strong clan solidarity and strict exogamy. There is no "tribe" as e.g. the Nandi, but a collection of family or clan groups forming a *koret* or district, and a collection of such groups within a given area having a common organization, customs, and dialect, and the innate idea that "we are the Dorobo of such-and-such a place." Thus the Kapchepkendi Dorobo (with whom this paper deals) distinguish themselves from the Dorobo living on Tindiret hill, though that hill is only some seven miles from Sosoiyo. (See map of the Dorobo country.) Before the Government dispersed them, the Dorobo possessed, more or less undisturbed, the whole of the forest. Now they have no land at all. But they maintain their solidarity in spite of disruption, by means of their isolation, strong clan-system, and the fact that outsiders, e.g. the Nandi, are half afraid of them (so long as they do not go into Nandi), as being rainmakers and magicians of no mean ability, a people who are, in fact, somewhat uncanny. Their external relations may be described under three heads as (1) acquisitional: exchange of goods and services with the Nandi, and, till about 80 years ago, with the Vasin Gishu Masae; (2) restrictive: the Government raids them for taxes, and takes away their land, which leads to (3) an attitude of deep suspicion towards all Europeans, though they are driven by economic pressure to work for them.

Productive activities are concerned with the following:

A. *Food*: meat (by hunting and trapping), honey, wild plants, eleusine and maize (grown or obtained), milk, maize meal, salt and beer.

B. *Non-edible*: houses, weapons, implements, utensils, clothing and ornaments (except of iron), firewood, traps, honey-barrels, coloured earth (which is dug in the eastern part of the forest and sold to the Nandi for cash.)

C. *Raw Materials*: wood, plants, and skins.

The exchange of their own products for things they do not make is governed by natural resources,

[P. 194, B]

or working for it; (3) by prostitution.

Eleusine is made into beer as well as eaten; honey provides both food and intoxicant (*kipletinik*), and salt is made by burning the leaves of *tepengwet* (*aemilia integrifolia*).

Fig. 1 shows a clan-settlement, and the division of the *imbaret* among the four households which form it.

The relationship between the various members of this settlement is shown in the table on page 195.

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[548]
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λ^1, λ^2 [see category 116, pp. 194 (c), 195 -- Analyst]

important aspect is, I fear, irrecoverable. I have²²⁴
 been in the forest in both wet and dry seasons,
 and while trapping is still carried on, I could see
 no sign of hunting (i.e. shooting), and the^[24]
 description of a hunt is from narration.¹ Fear of
 a government which forbids hunting, and has of^[648]
 late itself hunted the Dorobo, has, I think, effect-
 ually sealed the lips of one or two who would
 normally have spoken on the subject. My infor-
 mants, however, did say that sexual intercourse^[834]
 was forbidden before setting out on a hunt, though
 not before or during the process of trapping. In
 hunting there is an element of personal danger
 and of uncertainty as to success; magic helps to
 give confidence, and abstinence to avert ill-luck.
 In trapping the process is mechanical, largely a
 matter of technological skill, and with little danger
 to the trapper, who is sure to catch something
 sooner or later.

On the other hand, it is believed that both *Asis*^[776]
 (god) and the *chesowiloi* (both the good ancestral^[782]
 and the bad elemental) can influence a man's
 hunting, and before starting out to set a trap, he
 will say:

Asis, ipäiyech panyek,
 God, give-us-enough meat,

or,

Chesowilök, okönech tiöny ne kipare.

The-spirits, give-us a-beast which we-may-kill.

Honey (*kumiat*) is an important article of Do-²²²
 robo diet, and provides both food and intoxicant:^[262]
 it is to them what milk is to a pastoral people.^[273]
 It is not stuff that can be picked up anywhere, but
 requires a certain technique, and, above all, the
 presence of bees in a suitable place. As, there-
 fore, it has an actual social value, so it has
 acquired a ritual value, and certain observances^[788]
 are necessary if the supply of honey is not to fail.
 First, you must have your bees, and a man who
 has put up a new honey-barrel must take steps to
 ensure that it is inhabited. This he does by
 calling out, in an unnatural high-pitched voice,
 "Bees, bees, all you who are in this country,
 Come now and make honey here."

¹ Leopards, as already mentioned, are killed occasionally
 when they become aggressive and threaten live-
 stock; but there are no organized leopard hunts,^[825]
 and in any case leopards are vermin.

[P. 197, A]

come now and make honey here." Then, blood and fruit must not be eaten on the same day as honey, nor must bits of the comb be left lying about; they must be carefully covered up. The first of these prohibitions is analogous to the Nandi avoidance of meat and milk on the same day; the second, though the Dorobo say it is done "so that other people shall not see it," is also due to the ritual value of honey, and the consequent necessity of showing respect towards it.

In the ritual treatment of certain actions the use of certain materials is essential if the ritual is to be effective. Thus, a homicide must be rubbed with *eyat*, the undigested grass from the stomach of a goat or sheep, and he must also be oiled with 'butter' (milk shaken in a gourd till it has gone oily and semi-solid); an unmarried girl who has had a child must also be rubbed with *eyat*; a sick person whose illness is due to witchcraft must be oiled with goat's fat or butter; and a man who has killed an enemy must paint his face with five stripes of white earth—one across the forehead.

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/13 cont./

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eyes are almond-shaped, straight or somewhat slanted. The nose is extended, narrow, and, at the root, flat or very moderately deep-set compared to the forehead. The alae are narrow and very flat, the nostrils roundish to longitudinally oval, less often transversely oval. The bridge of the nose is straight, sometimes slightly convex. The lips are full, without appearing actually protruding. Protruding, thick lips are something so rare and striking that they earn their owner the name Lebeleb -- thick lip (or actually: uproar, loud noise). The ears are small, except for the hyperplasia of the upper edge of the ear and ear lobes caused by the wearing of heavy ornaments. The hair is evenly distributed over the scalp, which is most clearly shown on recently shaved heads. The hair often appears "tufty," but this is artificially produced. Only at a length of from one to three centimeters does it curl slightly and /14/ almost never becomes completely curly. The arms and especially the legs are very long, the wrists thin, hands and feet, especially among female individuals, small, narrow, and delicate, the fingers are slender and often strikingly long and narrow, the fingernails long, narrow, and slightly arched.

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D
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174
Even if the racial membership of the three branches were to be traced anthropologically, one can determine an even closer connection ethnographically, which must lead to the conviction that all three belong to the same people. The difference in their principal occupations, to be sure, seems at /III. 3 appears here/ first glance to indicate a sharp division. As has already been pointed out above, however, one can easily explain these differences by the consistent behavior of a people of similar customs and habits under unlike external circumstances. The predilection for stock raising, based on the eagerness for a meat diet, and the nomadic life necessarily growing out of it were common. While the Wandorobo had to endure it when their livestock fell victim to epidemics and raids of the strong Wakuafi, the latter, under pressure from the still mightier Masai, had to flee from the open plains to fixed residences in the mountains. The Wakuafi protected

M
D
174
619
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• 262

/14 cont./

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Emil Miller photo

Ill. 3. Young Masai. 2 and 4 pure-blooded, 3 mixed with Negro blood, 1 doubtful.

The Wakuari protected what remained of their livestock by giving up their roving life, whereas the Wandorobo, by sacrificing their herds, were able to continue their fancied nomadic life as hunters; and neither of them needed to forgo the meat diet.

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174
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/15/ Even though, in general, one should be very careful in ethnology about drawing conclusions from linguistic bases, it seems permissible here, on behalf of the three branches' belonging to one people, to point to their language as well.

M
174
619
197

As a matter of fact, we find the same language among the Masai and Wakuafi, with the limitation that for the latter, with the great number of Masai dialects, sometimes this one, sometimes that one is their own, according to the location of their area, whereas the very widely ranging Masai probably understand almost all the dialects. In addition, for the Wakuafi, in places, according to the degree of their mixture with Negro tribes, a language of the latter's is more or less familiar. Of the Wandorobo, the El gasurek speak only the language of the Masai, whereas the Asa and

P
197

/232 cont./

- 262 If lean times then come, one tries, as well as one can, to appease the stomach with wild roots or tubers, with berries or other small
[252] fruits, with honey and honey beer. Meat is seldom eaten raw, usually boiled or roasted at the open fire. For storage it is cut into long strips that are hung to dry in the sun. When the meat is well dried, it is stowed away in the aforementioned tree, close to the camp; cattle and small livestock, which are bought from the Masai for ivory, are not kept, but slaughtered immediately. Insofar as the Wandorobo, in barter with sedentary tribes, are able to come into the possession of vegetables, they also live on these, but actually only during times when, for some reason, only little game is to be had. Otherwise the vegetable food acquired by trade constitutes only a side dish, especially for woman and children. Many of them
[272] detest milk and base this on the fact that their stomachs, accustomed only to meat diet from early childhood, do not tolerate it. Some go so far as to throw away the udder of a slaughtered cow, although
[171] they eat that of a slain piece of game. There indeed seems to be no doubt but that the previously mentioned Masai belief, according to which milk and meat must not be brought together, rests on these customs. Besides water, honey beer, which they make in the same
273 way as the Masai, also serves them as a beverage. The latter prize
[271] that made by them more than their own, which probably rests on the
[171] fact that the Wandorobo keep the good honey for themselves and sell only the inferior kind. Men, women, and children eat together.
264 Both the foods for the man, his wives, and children and, on the other
[252] hand, those for the youth and his favorite girl are cooked in one pot.
[415] From this the food is poured into small wooden bowls (kitokog), of which each adult sharing in the meal has his own. From the food laws of the Masai, the custom that young unmarried men may not drink honey beer is still found here as a survival. Tobacco is a luxury of the married. Men smoke it, coarsely cut, in pipes carved by themselves. Ground to powder and mixed with a little steppe salt and /233/ fat, it serves both men and women for snuffing. Women also like to chew the snuff.

/249 cont./

224



Merker photo.

Ill. 61. Wanderobo cutting up a hippo-
potamus.

From time to time battue hunts are also organized. For this, people like to choose a region where two small streams prevent the game from breaking out laterally to the battue direction. Already at sunrise the game has been surrounded at the rear, and, to be sure, by boys and young men, who now, by shouting and waving scraps of cloth or leather, which are tied to the bow sticks, drive it toward the row of archers, who have buried themselves up to the hips.

A sportsmanlike practice of hunting is completely foreign to the people. Unscrupulously they shoot the calf and the gravid mother animal. The sole purpose of their hunting is to obtain meat. They do not use nooses, pits, spring guns, and traps, for in this way slain game would only /250/ fall prey to predatory animals. The extermination of the vermin is also little to their liking. They loathe its meat -- only the Wanderobo living on the Donjo Kisale are said to eat lions occasionally -- and its extermination seems unnecessary to them in view of the huge multitudes of the constantly changing game. Only the predatory animals dangerous to human beings, primarily the lion, leopard, and hyena, are shot if one happens to encounter them. If a lion makes the surroundings of the camp

• [262]

/250 cont./

224 unsafe for several days, the men lie outside the latter in wait at night.



Marker photo

III. 62. Wanderobo cutting up a hippopotamus.

in order to kill it with spears. They do not consider it possible to kill it by laying out meat bait in which arrow poison has been put. Several persons maintained that they had tried it in vain and believe that the lion smells the poison.

As far as the quality of the game is concerned, they are otherwise very easily satisfied. They no more scorn the coarse-fibered meat of the heavy pachyderms than the high flavor of an elephant carcass several days old, which even /351/ their giant stomach could not master at the first attempt. Like the predatory animals,

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• 262

/251 cont./

- 224 they particularly value the entrails and also do not scorn the meat of fallen or stricken animals; indeed, even the skin of elephant, rhinoceros, and hippopotamus is eaten roasted. As hountable, i.e., here edible, the Wandorobo regard elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, pigs, zebras, all cloven-footed animals from the giraffe to the tiny dwarf antelope, hares, rock rabbits, and, of the birds, the ostrich, which, however, they shoot only on account of its feathers, which the Masai like to buy for the manufacture of the war head-ornaments. They do not hunt monkeys and lower animals, because they do not relish their meat.

- 224 On the day before the new moon, and in places also on the seventeenth day, the ol onjoi, no one goes hunting because, according to popular belief, one would not kill anything on the former day, whereas on the latter the bow would break. The red-headed Anaplectes melanotis is regarded as unlucky for the hunter. If the hunter sees it along the way he returns to camp immediately and does not leave it again until several hours later, in order to try his luck anew.

- 561
264
171
[578] Like the warriors of the Masai, the debonoy of the Wandorobo also hold their meat meals in the forest. Whereas among the former, however, these are a result of the food rules, according to which the warrior may not eat meat in the bush, among the latter it is only a matter of observing an ancient custom for which there is no longer any reason today, since the unmarried man usually eats his meat food in the hut. On the other hand, there is greater justification for retaining the en dork, where they strengthen themselves by a plentiful eating of meat for a larger hunting expedition for more distant and at the same time dangerous game, such as elephants and buffalo. The many spices and stimulants that we become acquainted with among the Masai are also used by the Wandorobo, but to a far lesser extent. They do not divide up into fellowships for the meals in the bush, but only for the hunting expeditions. Each company, as a rule, consists of four men and is called a sirigg, in which one recognizes the present Masai word as sirig. The booty is divided among the participants in equal parts. If an individual hunter or an e sirid spends the night in [574] a strange camp, the host is given a foreleg and a hind leg of the hunting booty.